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THE MOSQUE OF KALAUN YUSUF PASHA IN MAGLAJ: ITS DATE OF CONSTRUCTION AND STYLISTIC FEATURES

Key words: History of Islamic Architecture, date and patron of an important mosque.

MAGLAJ UP TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MOSQUE OF KALAUN YUSUF PASHA

The town of Maglaj must have been founded at the end of the 14th century by King Tvrtko I, who, after the death of the Hungarian King Louis the Great (1388) had successfully fought the Hungarians. In the written records Maglaj is first mentioned in September 1408 in an order of the Hungarian-Croatian King Sigismund, who on his way back home from a victorious campaign against King Tvrtko II of Bosnia camped "sub castro nostro Maglay." This pertains only to the small Upper Castle on the hilltop overlooking the Bosnia and controlling the important road into the interior of Bosnia. The castle of Tvrtko I can have had an older forerunner. Archeological excavations in 1962 and '63 revealed a mass of Slav ceramics from the 13th and 14th century as well as some iron helmets of the "Kesselhaube" type of the 14th century, but no trace of earlier fortification.[1]

There is no further mention of Maglaj till after the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia. After the Ottomans had taken the "King's Land" in 1463, and after the Hungarians had taken the important royal castle of Jajce

[1] For details on the castle, its history and the excavations see in detail the careful study of Ivo Bojanovski, "Stari Grad Maglaj - istraživački i konzervatorski radovi 1962. i 1963. g." in: *Naše starine*, X, Sarajevo 1965, pp. 61-97.

and organised a strong line of defence (1464), the Ottomans responded by setting up a buffer-state between their territories and that of the redoubtable Hungarians, with the castle of Vranduk, 40 km upstream the Bosnia, as centre. This mini buffer-state existed till 1476.[2] Shortly afterwards Maglaj must have fell in Ottoman hands. The Ottoman register of 1485 is the second oldest written source to mention Maglaj. It was then the centre of a small administrative unit, the "Nahiye-i Kal'a-i Maglay." At the foot of the castle was a minor settlement with 32 households of Vlach cattle-breeders, "who have come from outside and have settled down.[3] In February 1503 the Ottomans succeeded to capture the castle of Doboj, 16 km downstream from Maglaj, and it was thereby no longer situated directly at the dangerous border.[4] Nine years later the Ottomans also captured Srebrenik, the main fortress of the Hungarian "Banat of Srebrenik" and in 1526, after the Battle of Mohács, the Hungarian danger was removed for more than a century and a half.[5] In the following long period of peace the semi-deserted border district of Maglaj recovered rapidly. The Ottoman register T.D. 740 from 1604, which was recently published, integrally, shows that in the interval between 1485 and 1604 the town had grown tenfold. It now counted 306 households, of which no less than 237 were Muslim the remaining 69 were Orthodox Christians.[6]

By 1528 Maglaj had already been the centre of a *Kadılık*, meaning that by then it had at least one Friday Mosque and a marketplace. The transformation of Maglaj from a small settlement below a castle into an Islamic town appears not to be the result of a pre-meditated urbanisation and islamisation policy of the Ottomans comparable with deliber-

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[2] V. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, II,3, Zagreb 1904, p. 64; Hazim Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, Naučno društvo BiH, Djela Knj. XIV, Odjeljenje istorijsko-filoloških nauka, Knj. 10, Sarajevo 1959, pp. 48-49.

[3] Istanbul, Prime Minister's Ottoman Archive, İcmal (summary) register T.D. 18, from 890 (1485) and the detailed (mufassal) register T.D. 24, finished at the "beginning of the month of Ramadan of the year 894 (August 1489).

[4] Hamdija Kreševljaković, "Stari bosanski gradovi," in: *Naše starine*, I, Sarajevo 1953, p. 21.

[5] A survey of the history of the northern border of Ottoman Bosnia and Hungarian controlled Slavonia, but not directly touching Maglaj, is given by Adem Handžić, "Prilog istoriji starih gradova u bosanskoj i slavonskoj krajini pred kraj XVI vijeka," in: *Godišnjak Društva istoričara BiH*, god. XIII, Sarajevo 1963.

[6] *Opširni popis Bosanskog sandžaka iz 1604. godine*, 4 vols, published by the Bosnian Institute in Zürich and Orijentalni institut Sarajevo, 2000. For a handy survey of the data as contained in this singularly important source see: Adem Handžić, " O društvenoj strukturi stanovništva u Bosni 1604 g. in: *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, 32-33, Sarajevo 1982/83, pp. 140-146.

ate acts of town founding such as Rudo on the Lim, Razgrad in North-Eastern Bulgaria, or Kavalla in Northern Greece, but more the result of a spontaneous development. This development was crowned, but not initiated by Kalaun Yusuf Pasha, by erecting monumental buildings in an already important Muslim urban centre.[7] This brings us directly to his great mosque and the date of its construction.

DATE OF CONSTRUCTION AND STYLISTIC FEATURES OF KALAUN YUSUF PASHA'S MOSQUE

In the existing literature a number of dates have been suggested as year of construction for the great mosque of Maglaj, all based on assumption and without any argument. No original *Bauinschrift* is preserved. The one we see today was placed on the site where the original inscription must have been: above the main entrance gate, and pertains to a major restoration, taking place in the year 1284 (1867/68). Besides the date, given in the form of a chronogram, the inscription mentions that the repair was paid for by Sultan Abdulaziz (1861-1876) and that the original founder of the mosque was "Gazi Yusuf Pasha al-Maglavî, thus Yusuf P. from Maglaj. Mehmed Mujezinović, who published the inscription, noted a local tradition in Maglaj that the original inscription had been a plaque of gold, which was taken away by the Habsburg armies under Prince Eugen of Savoy (1697). The plaque of course was of marble with gilded letters on it, as was rightfully suggested by Mujezinović.[8] The practice of taking Ottoman inscriptions back home as trophy was rather common, with the Habsburg armies as well with the Russians.

Little is known about Kalaun Yusuf Pasha and the years in which he lived. His name is handed down locally, by tradition. The first part of his name is very rare and would exclude the possibility of a wrong identification. In spite of this the various authors who have written about the Maglaj mosque did not know where to place its founder in time. An authority like Alija Bejtić, mentioned "1584" without going

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[7] For the origin of Razgrad see: M.Kiel, "H'razgrad - Hezargrad – Razgrad, The vicissitudes of a Turkish town in Bulgaria (Historical, Demographical Economic and Art Historical Notes)," in: *Turcica* XXI-XIII 1991 (Mêlanges offerts â Irène Mélikoff) p. 495-563. For Kavalla, M. Kiel, "Ottoman Building Activity along the Via Egnatia, the Cases of Pazargah, Kavalla and Ferecik," in: Elisabeth Zachariadou (ed.), *The Via Egnatia under Ottoman Rule 1380-1699*, Rethymnon 1996, p. 145-158.

[8] M. Mujezinović, *Islamska epigrafika Bosne i Hercegovine*, II, Sarajevo 1977, p. 237.

into detail. The authors of the article "Maglaj" in the Enciklopedija Jugoslavije from 1962 placed it "around 1580." Ivo Bojanovski, in his detailed study on Maglaj and its castle mentioned "from the 16th century." Mehmed Mujezinović noted that "it was in any case built in the second half of the 16th century." Husref Redžić gives 1560, without any comments. In his recent 400 pages compilation of the history of Maglaj, Adin Ljuca suggested the same period, largely basing himself on the confused picture given by the 19th century compilation of Salih Hadžihuseinović Muvekkit, who suggested a "Kalauz Ali Paša," better known as Kalajli-Koz. His dates focus around the 1580s. In 1999 Muhamed Hamidović accepted either 1560 or 1584 as being the date of construction, as did Johan Mårtelius of the team of Swedish restorers of the mosque in the same year.[9] Yet the *tahrir* of 1604, not used by all of the mentioned authors, knows no mosque or *mahalle* bearing the name of this man. Neither do the stylistic features fit the 16th century, nor is a Kalaun Yusuf known in the Ottoman records of the 16th century. The mosque evidently did not yet exist.

In 1888 Moritz Hoernes noted the story that "Kalavun Jusuf Pascha" the founder of the mosque, had been from the town, and that he was "der letzte türkische Pascha von Ofen [=Budapest].[10] Here we have a same sort of mixing of persons as in the work of Muvekkit. The last Turkish governor of Budapest was, as is known, Süleyman Pasha, a native of Peqin in Central Albania, who died, sword in hand, defending the city against the united Christian armies. Most probable he and Kalaun Yusuf are mixed with an other important son of Maglaj: Maglaylı Mahmud Pasha, who had been *çavuşbaşı* at the imperial court and in 1665 was promoted to Kubbe Vezier, in 1667/68 to Governor of Konya and was finally, in 1670/71 Governor of Buda.[11] Thus oral history seems to have

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[9] Alija Bejtić, "Spomenici osmanlijske arhitekture u Bosni i Hercegovini," in: *Prilozi za orijetalnu filologiju*, III-IV, Sarajevo 1952/53, p. 246. For Bojanovski's study see note 3, p. 84. M. Mujezinović, *Epigrafika*, p. 237. Husref Redžić, *Studije o islamskoj arhitektonskoj baštini*, Sarajevo 1983, p.124. Adin Ljuca, *Maglaj, na tragovima prošlosti*, Maglaj 2000, p. 201-206. Muhamed Hamidović, "Kuršumlijamoskén in Maglaj," in: Johan Martelius (ed.) *Bosnien- ett islamisk kurturarv i Europa. En moské i Maglaj*, Stockholm (Medel-havsmuseet) 1999, p. 22-29. I would like to thank Dr. Sabira Husedžinović, Ministry of Culture of BiH to bring this rare, but well made book to my attention, and Dr. Karin Adahl of the Medelhavs Museet, Stockholm, to provide me with a copy of it.

See also the anonymous study "Kuršumlija džamija u Maglaju," in *Glasnik Vrhovnog islamskog starješinstva* (VIS), X,1-3, 1959, p. 146-149.

[10] Moritz Hoernes, *Dinarische Wanderungen, Cultur- und Landschaftsbilder aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, Wien 1888, p. 205.

[11] For this person see: *Sicill-i Osmânî*, IV, p. 5; idem IV, p. 321.

made one man out of three, or maybe even four different persons. Not an unknown phenomenon[12]

It is interesting to note that the confusion about the founder of our mosque is old and most probably for the greater part goes back to local popular memory.

The reason why none of the researchers mentioned above could find the real date of construction and the real identity of Kalaun Yusuf is as simple as it is symptomatic: architects and art historians do not use the available historical sources in Ottoman or Turkish, historians do not use the finding of art history as a working tool. It is a problem of the structure of education, in the West as well as in the East.

The real story of Kalaun Yusuf Pasha is related by the historian Ibrahim Peçevî, who at the time of the principal events was *defterdar* of Diyarbakır in eastern Anatolia, as he declares himself in his "History." He was thus close to the events and, being himself a member of the finance department, must have known Kalaun Yusuf rather well. The near-contemporary historian Naima described the same events. Kalaun Yusuf was also known to the British ambassador Sir Thomas Roe, who mentions him and his actions during his voyage through Anatolia. According to the material brought together in the great "Who-is Who" in the Ottoman empire the Sicill-i Osmânî of Mehmed Süreyya, Kalaun Yusuf grew up and was educated in the finance department of the empire. In 1028 (1619), upon recommendation of Hoca Ömer Efendi, the Tutor of the Sultan Genç Osman (ruler 26 February 1618 – 20 May 1622), he was made First Defterdar of the empire, with the rank of Vezier. He held that position for about a year, was then deposed and in 1622 made Governor of Maraş in southern Anatolia. There, in 1623, he was ordered to suppress the revolt of Abaza Mehmed Pasha, who wanted to take revenge for the murder on Sultan Genç Osman. Instead of suppressing Abaza's revolt Kalaun joined this movement. Later, in the camp before Sivas he was treacherously murdered by Abaza Pasha out of fear for a conspiracy. The story is also related with some detail by Hammer in his great History of the Ottoman Empire (1829) and in the similarly authoritative "Osmanlı Tarihi" of Uzunçarşılı.[13]

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[12] For this and related phenomenons see the classic of Jan Vansina, *Oral History* (several editions).

[13] Ibrahim Peçevî, *Tarih,* modern Turkish edition by Murat Uraz, Istanbul 1969, vol. II, p. 469; Joseph von Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, V, 1623-1656, Pest, 1829, p. 28-30 (where the name is corrupted into "Kulaun," Thomas Roe even made Kalaun Pasha into "Colophonbassa." See also the handy surveys of İsmail Hamî Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, V, Istanbul 1971, p. 264, vol III, p. 821/22; and: Mehmed Sürcya, *Sicill-i Osmânî*, vol IV, p. 655.

Local tradition and the inscription of Sultan Abdulaziz make Kalaun Yusuf a native of Maglaj. This at once explains why such an imposing mosque was built in a relatively small Bosnian town. As many Bosnian dignitaries, both before and after him, Kalaun wanted to show his co-citizens "that he had made it." The date of the building can now also be established. It is the year he was promoted to Baş Defterdar, 1619, or the few years that followed till his violent death in 1623. Two or three years are quite enough to erect a building like the Maglaj mosque. To the foundation also belonged a *hamam*, which disappeared at the beginning of the 20th century.[14] Local tradition relates that Yusuf Pasha also wanted a stone bridge to be built over the river Bosna but that the work was stopped because of vehement protests of the inhabitants. The stone already cut was much later used for the construction of new houses.[15] We can assume that the works of Yusuf Pasha also included a *mekteb*, or primary school and a *khan* or *karavansaray* and possibly also an *imaret* to feed travellers and the poor.[16] Yet, we have no foundation charter of the Maglaj buildings to prove this. No *vakfiye* of it is preserved in the rich collections of the Gazi Husrev Library in Sarajevo and no one in the likewise long series of the Istanbul Prime Minister's Ottoman Archive.[17] This gives ground to the supposition that Kalaun had had no time to provide for his buildings and that the state to over the responsibility for the payment of the salaries of the staff and for maintenance, as happened with so many other Ottoman foundation.[18] Be this as it may,

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[14] For this *hamam* see: Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Banje u Bosni i Hercegovini* (1462-1916), Sarajevo 1952,[2] p. 117/18.

[15] Hoernes, Dinarische Wanderungen, 205, heard the same story, which must have been kept alive in local memory.

[16] In the early 20th century there were at least two *khans* in Maglaj. One of them stood in the Čaršija, not far from the great mosque. It worked till 1948. See: Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Hanovi i karavansaraji u Bosni i Hercegovini,* (Naučno društvo NR Bosne i Hercegovine, Djela, Knjiga VIII), Sarajevo 1957, p.122/23. The other was on the other bank of the river Bosna, at the old landing stage of the ferry. The one in the market street would be a good candidate for the successor of Kalaun Yusuf's *khan.*

[17] A survey of the Vakfiyes preserved in the Gazi Husrev Bey Library was published by Zejnil Fajić as: "Popis vakufnama iz Bosne i Hercegovine koji se nalaze u Gazi Husrev-begovoj biblioteci u Sarajevu," in *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke* V-VI, Sarajevo 1978, p. 245 - 302. The catalogue "Vakfiyeler: in the B.B.O.A. can only be read at the spot. There still is a possibility that the rich, but only partly surveyable archive of Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü in Ankara has a copy of the Maglaj Vakfiye.

[18] The section Maliye'den Müdevver of the B.B.O.A. contains several 17th and 18th century registers of payment of mosque officials and others at the expense

we can be very sure that Kalaun Yusuf's mosque in Maglaj is not a work from the second half of the 16th century but is 40 to 50 years younger than the dates proposed in the existing literature.

With a date of construction in or around 1620 we are also able to understand the massively monumental character of the building. It is not elegant and does not have refined proportions, as some of the mosques of Mostar (Karadjoz Bey, 1557/58) but impresses by sheer size and bulky forms alone. This is the chief characteristic of Late-Classical Ottoman architecture, especially for the 17th century, which had no fresh new solutions but shows a bit tired and sometimes clumsy forms, following the established traditions. The general form of Kalaun Yusuf's mosque is well in accordance with the general tendencies of the 17th century architecture but not in detail. This can best be seen at the capitals of the arcade which supports the three-domed portico of the mosque. It is evident that these capitals were made by local masons, not trained in the difficult art of cutting muqarnas-decorations. What we see is "would-be-muqarnas," weak and uncouth imitations. Only one capital, supporting the central dome, is of better quality, but still not classical Ottoman. This is one of the characteristics of Ottoman art in Bosnia. Most work was carried out by locals, without true understanding of how to cut a stalactite capital. When shortly before the Bosnian war restoration of the Maglaj mosque was planned splendidly cut neo-Ottoman capitals were brought in from a special restoration workshop in Maribor/Slovenia. Then the war interfered. In the ensuing restoration of the damaged porch, the Swedish restorers happily decided not to use them. They would have falsified the genuine Bosnian character of the building. The new capitals still lay in the garden of the mosque. Now they provide the beholder with an excellent opportunity to compare. It should be added, in this context, that one of the central columns of the porch is not made of sandstone but of the softer local yellowish limestone. The restorers of the mosque could establish that this was the last witness of the war damage of 1697. One of the original marble-like limestone columns had been destroyed, and with it a part of the domes of the porch. They were carefully restored, but by using slightly different building material. The Swedish restorers decided to respect this

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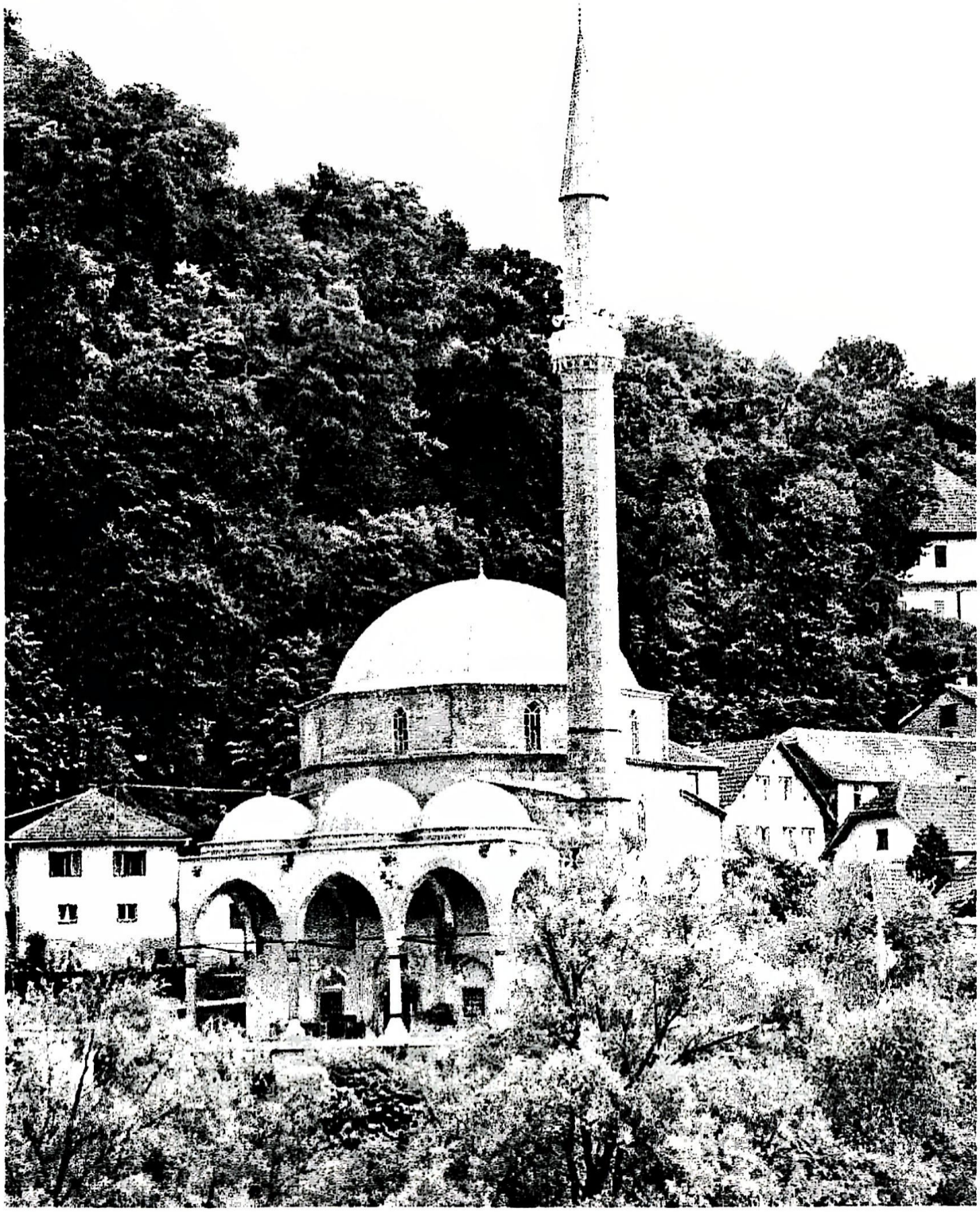
of the state. An example of this kind of state-supported vakfs in the central and southern Balkans is M.M. 5625 from 1047 (1637) which mentions dozens of examples. The article "Džamije i njihovi vakufi u gradovima Kliškog sandžaka početkom XVII vijeka," of Fehim Spaho in *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke* V-VI, Sarajevo 1978, p. 217-229, also contains a number of examples of mosques without vakfs.

trace of history.[19] Thus originally the porch had two columns of marble-like limestone supporting the central dome, and two of the yellowish local sandstone, at both end of the porch in an endeavour to stress, by the use of different building materials, the central axis of the building and the central entrance. The strange and uncouth capitals in the porch are thus not the product of 1620 but around 1700.



The Mosque of Kalaun Yusuf Pasha

[19] Letter of Prof. Mårtelius from 11 October 2000 to author.

In the interior of the mosque, *mihrab* and *minbar* are again in the best Ottoman tradition and of fine workmanship. Here a few masters, brought in from the core lands of the empire, had been at work. To bring in the whole crew would have been too expensive, even for a Minister of Finances in a time corruption spread all over the state machinery. Thus locals were used for the main work and specialists for a few details. The rich internal decoration, calligraphy and figurative wall paintings, are apparently a product of the restoration of Abdulaziz but the Baedekers Guidebook Österreich-Ungarn from 1913 (p. 407) has a note that they were done in 1900, perhaps following the layout and programme of the older paintings. The Swedish restorers of the mosque also accepted 1900 as date. The mural paintings belong at any rate to the best of Bosnia and to the best preserved. Only those in sections of the dome suffered damage through moisture. In conclusion we can say that the Mosque of Kalaun Yusuf Pasha in Maglaj is, after the destruction of the Ferhadiye in Banja Luka (from 1585) during the Bosnia War, and Alaca Mosque in Foča on the Drina (1550), the second-most important mosque of Bosnia, ranking immediately after the Gazi Husrev Bey Mosque in Sarajevo, albeit much less known. Together with the half medieval, half Ottoman castle Maglaj could become a nice tourist attraction, providing that the fragile peace in Bosnia lasts.

THE MOSQUE OF KALAUN YUSUF PASHA IN MAGLAJ: ITS DATE OF CONSTRUCTION AND STYLISTIC FEATURES

Summary

The present article is just a small stone in the colorful cultural history of Bosnia. It deals with three aspects of one of most beautiful and important historical mosques of Bosnia, that of Kalaun Yusuf Pasha in the town of Maglaj on the Bosna. It tries to establish the date of construction of the mosque and find the identity of its founder. Until now this has not been done in a satisfying manner. The name Kalaun or Kalavun is very rare, making identification easy/ The historical data on the founder, who came from Maglaj, pin him down in the second decade of the 17th century, when for a few years he rose to the lofty rank of Defterdar of the Ottoman Empire and shortly afterwards was governor of some place in Anatolia. In this function he both had the money and the opportunity to build a great and monumental mosque in his native town.

The third aspect discussed is the place this mosque occupies in the Islamic architecture of Bosnia. In fact the stylistic data would have been enough to place the building in the 17th, instead of the 16th century, as have has been done by all who previously wrote about it.

KALAUN JUSUF-PAŠINA DŽAMIJA U MAGLAJU: DATUM IZGRADNJE I STILSKE KARAKTERISTIKE

Sažetak

Ovaj rad je tek kamenčić u živopisnoj kulturnoj historiji Bosne. U radu se obrađuju tri aspekta jedne od najljepših i najvažnijih džamija u Bosni, tj. Kalaun Jusuf-pašina džamija u Maglaju na rijeci Bosni. U radu se pokušava ustanoviti datum izgradnje džamije i saznati identitet njenog osnivača. Do sada to nije bilo urađeno na zadovoljavajući način. Ime Kalaun ili Kalavun je vrlo rijetko, što olakšava identifikaciju. Historijski podaci o osnivaču, porijeklom iz Maglaja, tačno ga lociraju u drugu deceniju 17. stoljeća, kada se za nekoliko godina uzdigao do vrlo visokog položaja defterdara Osmanskog carstva; kratko nakon toga bio je namjesnik u nekom mjestu u Anadoliji. Na ovom položaju imao je i novac i priliku da izgradi veliku i monumentalnu džamiju u svom rodnom gradu.

Treći aspekt o kojem se govori je mjesto koje ova džamija zauzima u islamskoj arhitekturi Bosne. Ustvari, stilski podaci bili bi dovoljni da se džamija locira u 17. umjesto u 16. stoljeće, kao što su činili svi koji su ranije pisali o njoj.

Ključne riječi: historija islamske arhitekture, datum i pokrovitelj značajne džamije.